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PART II. — MATERIAL CULTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

I. THE COUNTRY OF THE KORYAK.

131 Present and Former Extent of the Koryak Territory. — The boundaries[1] of the Koryak territory have somewhat changed since the advent of the Russians to that region. Prior to the time when the Russians came in contact with the Koryak, the latter reached as far as Tauysk. The first encounter between the Russians and the Koryak, according to the reports of the Cossacks, took place in the Tauysk settlement. There were at that time villages of Maritime Koryak all along the western shore of the Okhotsk Sea and Gishiga Bay, and upon the adjacent rocky islands between the mouth of the Gishiga River and Tauysk.

● 101 131 At present the inhabitants of Tauysk are officially classified as Yakut who were transferred thither from Yakutsk; but, as a matter of fact, they are a mixture of Yakut, Cossacks, and Tungus. Farther north — if we exclude the villages of Yamsk, Tumanskoye, and Nayakhan, whose inhabitants have become Russianized, and who have become physically intermixed with other tribes, Russians, Tungus, and Yakut — the Varkhalam River, in the valley of which some Reindeer Koryak still wander, may now be regarded as the border-line of the Koryak territory northwest of the Okhotsk Sea.

175 131 According to the Russian annals, the Koryak spread in Kamchatka as far as the Tighil River, on which, in the time of Krasheninnikoff, Koryak villages were still to be found.[1] Dittmar, in 1853, drew the boundary-line between the Koryak and the Kamchadal below the fifty-seventh degree of north latitude, somewhat to the south of the village of Oserna on the Bering Sea side, and of Voyampolka on the Okhotsk Sea.[2]

Krasheninnikoff mentions[3] a group of Koryak who in his time lived along the Imatkha River, a tributary of the Avacha, not far from Petropavlovsk. According to Krasheninnikoff, this group of Koryak formerly belonged to the nomadic Reindeer branch; but, their reindeer having been driven away by

[1] Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 32.
[2] Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 50.
[1] See Dittmar, Reisen in Kamchatka; and Part I of this volume, map.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

enemies, they settled down in one place. At the same time, however, they refrained from forming ties of kinship with the Kamchadal, thus preserving their language and customs intact. Now they have become Russianized, like the Kamchadal, and in no way differ from them. "Koryaki,"[1] the name of their settlement, is the sole reminder of their origin.

At the present time the camps of the Reindeer Koryak reach as far south along the western slope of the Kamchatka Ridge as the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude:[1] and, according to Slunin, a few families will sometimes even reach Bolsheretzk.[2] The Reindeer Koryak have also spread farther northward than at the time of the intertribal wars. Then, according to tradition, the southern Chukchee camps were separated from the northern Koryak camps by a stretch of desert land, which the Chukchee would cross from time to time to attack the Koryak. Now the Chukchee and Koryak camps wander peacefully together upon the table-land of the Palpal.

I am inclined to suppose that no changes have occurred in the distribution of the Koryak in the northeastern region. The northeastern branch of the Koryak, the Kerek, have held themselves aloof from Russian influence, and until recently have been very little known.

The western boundary-line of the Koryak territory is formed, now as formerly, by the Stanovoi, or, as Maydell calls it, the Kolyma Ridge. But in winter, for purposes of squirrel-hunting, a few camps wander across the Stanovoi Ridge into the region of the Kolyma River, as far as its tributaries Omolon and Korkodon, and return in the spring. According to traditions of the Korkodon Yukaghir, the Koryak in olden times crossed the Stanovoi Ridge to wage war against them.

At the present time the Koryak territory is situated mainly in the two districts of Gishiga and Petropavlovsk. The Gishiga district has an area of 81,553 square miles, and that of Petropavlovsk 149,467 square miles. According to official data, there are in the Gishiga district 0.9 inhabitants to a square mile, and in that of Petropavlovsk 0.45 inhabitants to a square mile. The population is, of course, concentrated near the mouths of the rivers, in the river-valleys, and in places where reindeer-food is abundant. Between these inhabited places are large stretches of uninhabited desert land.

To understand Koryak culture in so far as it depends upon environment, it is necessary to give here a brief description of the nature of that region.

OROGRAPHY. — The Koryak territory may be called a highland rather than a lowland country, but nowhere do the elevations reach any considerable height. They are either spurs of mountain-chains which lie outside of the Koryak country, or are small elevations forming the watersheds within the country. The Stanovoi Ridge sends a few such small spurs eastward, which

[1] See Part I, map.

[2] See Slunin, I, p. 450.

3. — THE KORYAK TRIBE.

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The Name "Koryak". — The Koryak as we all nowadays to the name, and the exact origin of the word is unknown. Some ancestors are inclined to connect the name with the Koryak word *nyeyk* or *nyenk*, meaning "domesticated reindeer." Mr. Bogoras thinks that the Chukchi reindeer created it from the word *yara'ka*, taken from the southeastern Koryak dialect, and meaning "living with reindeer." As we often hear the Yukaghir call the Koryak *kavrik* or *kavrik-ye* (*kavrikuet*). It is difficult, therefore, to tell who first gave the name "Koryak" to the tribe. It only remains to be said that there is no other word in the Yukaghir language to indicate the Koryak. Similarly, the origin of the name "Koryak" is unknown. The Ko'rak constitute the eastern branch of the Chukchee division, occupying the country between Cape Anadyrsk and Cape Shelagsk, and the name has been borrowed by the Russians from the Chukchee.

The following considerations seem to favor the opportunity that the name "Koryak" was not invented by the Russians, but was borrowed from the tribes contiguous to the Koryak. In former times the Chukchee probably constituted the majority of the Koryak tribe, while the Chukchee, particularly those with whom the Russians came in contact, belonged mainly to the Maritime branch, which at present constitutes entirely the east of the entire tribe. The Russians would therefore have more reason to call the Chukchee a "maritime people" than the Koryak. As the most near neighbors of the nomad-Reindeer Koryak were, besides the Chukchee, as we call the Yukaghir living near the sources of the Kolyma River, and on the other side the Kamchadal, who had no nomad members among themselves. If the word "Koryak" is connected with the word *yara'ka* "living with reindeer", the name may have been given to the Koryak by the Reindeer of the Yukaghir. It may be noted here that the Yukaghir word *kavrik*, or *kavrik-ye*, a variant the Koryak word *yara'ka*, in which the vowels *a* and *e* are changed into *i* according to the Yukaghir rules of harmony of vowels.

From a comparison of the words which have apparently been connected with the formation of the name, it may be concluded that "Koryak" must be the more correct spelling of it, but I retain to modified nomenclature "Koryak"

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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(evidently adapted from the Russian spelling of the name, КОРЯКЪ), since that spelling has been adopted in ethnology.

The Koryak themselves have no common tribal name, unless we consider the word voye'mtivola'nu or voye'mtivolu ("people," "men") as a name. By this term the Reindeer as well as the Maritime Koryak call themselves, and it corresponds to the Chukchee ora'wĕlat ("men"). The Maritime Koryak call themselves, and are called by the Reindeer branch of their tribe, Na'ma|a'n (*pl.*, Na'ma|u), Ne'mĕla'n (*pl.*, Ne'mĕ|u), or Ni'mi|a'n (*pl.*, Ni'mi|u), according to the different pronunciation of the Koryak dialects. These words signify "an inhabitant of a settlement or village," and are from na'mĭam, ne'mnem, or ni'mnim ("habitation"). The Maritime Koryak call themselves also Ne'mnemkin voye'mtivola'n ("a man from a habitation") or A'ñqala'n ("maritime dweller"), from a'ñqa ("sea").

According to Steller,[1] the Reindeer Koryak, the nearest neighbors of the Kamchadal, called the latter Nămălăn, "since they were dwellers of underground houses." But, as we have seen before, this name means simply "an inhabitant of a settlement," for it is evident that Steller's spelling nămălăn corresponds to our na'ma|a'n. According to Wrangell,[2] the ancient inhabitants of underground houses found by him on the Arctic shore were called by the Chukchee Namollo or Onkilon; but these names also, it seems to me, are but the incorrectly recorded Chukchee-Koryak words na'ma|a'n and a'ñqala'n, signifying "an inhabitant of a settlement" and "a maritime dweller."[3]

The Reindeer Koryak, like the Reindeer Chukchee, are called Ča'uču (*dual*, Ča'učenet; *pl.*, Ča'učenni). Krasheninnikoff's assertion,[4] indorsed since by other travellers, including Dr. Slunin,[5] that the Maritime Koryak call themselves Ča'uču, and the Reindeer, Tumu'gutu, is apparently based on a misunderstanding; for ča'uču means "rich in reindeer,"[6] and tumu'gutu (*sing.*, tu'mgin), "comrades," and "kinsmen, relatives."

The Chukchee call the Koryak Ta'n·ŭrtan; and the latter, in turn, call the Chukchee by the same name, with the only difference that the Chukchee form of the plural, Ta'n·ŭit,[6] is used in the Koryak language as the dual. The Koryak plural would be Ta'n·ŭu. The Chukchee has no dual. According to the explanation of the Koryak, ta'nŭin means "a warrior." It is curious

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[1] Steller, p. 240.

[2] Wrangell, II, pp. 295, 333.

[3] From the fact that we find among the Eskimo of northwestern America the same kind of underground houses as those the ruins of which have been found along the shore of the Arctic Ocean from Cape Erri or Shelagski to Bering Sea, Wrangell draws the conclusion that the former inhabitants of the Arctic shores were Eskimo." On the same basis, Markham (On the Origin and Migrations of the Greenland Esquimaux, in The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, London, 1865, Vol. XXXV, pp. 87—99) draws his conclusion regarding the emigration of the Eskimo from Asia to America. This supposition is quite as groundless as is the assumption that to the Eskimo alone belong the names which are applied by the Chukchee, as well as by the Koryak, to people in general living in permanent settlements. (See Chapter IV.)

[4] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 6.

[5] Slunin, I, p. 376.

[6] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII, of this series, p. 11.

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101 that, in the Nishne-Kolymsk dialect of the Yukaghir, the Chukchee are called Kude'je, which also means "warrior."[1]

Separate branches of Reindeer and of Maritime Koryak give to each other territorial names, according to their place of wandering, the point of the horizon or the rivers where their settlements are situated. For instance, the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula call themselves Taigonotolu ("Taigonos people"), from the Russian word Taigonos (Тайгонось);[2] the inhabitants of the village of Kamenskoye are called Va'ikenalu ("Kamenskoye people"), from Va'ikenan, which is the Koryak name of that village; the inhabitants of the village of Nayakhan are called E'igivalu ("people from the west"), from E'igival ("sunset," "west"), the Koryak name of that settlement. The Koryak of Gishiga call the Koryak of Kamchatka, as well as the Kamchadal, I'vtalaⁿlu (*sing.*, I'vtalaⁿn or Ivtalalaⁿn), "the lower ones," "those living below." According to an oral statement by Mr. Bogoras, the Kerek call the Maritime Koryak living south of them by the same name.

141 Physical Type. — As yet but very little of the anthropological material collected by the Jesup Expedition in reference to the Koryak has been worked up; but I shall make use here of some data from the essential measurements of the Koryak worked out by Mrs. Jochelson,[3] as well as of observations from the anthropometrical notes of the Expedition.

The Koryak are below the average height, and indeed may be said to be of rather short stature. From the measurements of 173 men and 133 women, we found that the average height for men is 1596 mm. (the maximum, 1700 mm.; the minimum, 1490 mm.), and that the average height for women is 1491 mm. (the maximum, 1610 mm.; the minimum, 1380 mm.). The average height of the Koryak of northern Kamchatka (based on measurements of 24 men and 19 women) is 1620 mm. for men (the maximum, 1710 mm.; the minimum, 1530 mm.) and 1530 mm. for women (the maximum,

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[1] Kude'je is the co-operative voice ("to kill together") of the verb kude'de ("to kill"). Kude'jepul means "fellow-killers," "fellow-fighters;" that is, the men who kill or fight together, — warriors. In primitive times it was but natural for a people to call by this name a tribe with whom they were constantly at war (see W. Jochelson, Essay on the Grammar of the Yukaghir Language, in American Anthropologist, N. S., 1905, Vol. VII, p. 403).

[2] The Russian word taiga' (тайга) means "a vast marshy Siberian forest;" and nos (носъ) means "nose" and also "cape." Probably the peninsula between Gishiga and Penshina Bays is called by the Russians Taigonos ("the forest cape") from the forests in its river-valleys, especially the poplar forests in the valley of the Topolovka River, which means "Poplar River" (from to'pol [тополь], "poplar").

[3] I wish to state here that the anthropometrical work of my party in the field was carried out by Mrs. Jochelson. With the permission of Professor Boas, she worked out a part of the anthropometrical material of the Jesup Expedition in Siberia for her thesis for the degree of M.D. of the University of Zürich, Switzerland. This work was also published in the Archiv für Anthropologie, Jahrgang V, Neue Reihe, Heft 1, 2, 1906, pp. 1—63, under the title "Zur Topographie des weiblichen Körpers nordostsibirischer Völker," and a Russian translation was printed in the Russian Anthropological Journal in Moscow. For the Koryak men and women Mrs. Jochelson worked out the following measurements and indices: standing height, height of the ear, length of the head, breadth of the head, bizygomatic breadth, anatomical index of the face, and the length-height index of the head. For comparative data and special measurements of women, see the above-mentioned work.

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that of the Koryak of northern Kamchatka, of the Reindeer and Kamenskoye-Paren Koryak, Alutor Koryak, and the Kerek. Moreover, every group of Reindeer Koryak, and almost every village of Maritime people, have their own provincialisms, with a few insignificant phonetical and lexical peculiarities. Thus, for instance, there are phonetical and lexical differences even between the dialects of the Kamenskoye and Paren villages, which are so short a distance from each other.

Thus, in the Paren dialect, *a* of the Kamenskoye dialect is changed to *e*; and the same word may have a different meaning in each of the dialects, or different words may be used to express one and the same conception. For instance, a'pa in the Kamenskoye dialect means "grandfather," and in the Paren dialect, "father." In the Kamenskoye dialect, "mother" is expressed by a'na, and in the Paren dialect, by a'mma.

Dittmar[1] divides the Koryak language into five dialects, — that of the Reindeer Koryak, the Kamenskoye, the Ukinskoye, the Pallanskoye, and the Alutor. On the basis of the difference in the dialects pointed out by him, he divides the Koryak into five branches, — the Reindeer, Kamenskoye and Paren people (under which name he includes the inhabitants of eight villages between the Kamenskoye and Paren), Pallantsi (the inhabitants of seven settlements between Pustoretsk and Vayampolka), Ukintsi (the inhabitants of six settlements along the Pacific shore between Oserna and Karagha), and the Alutor people (the inhabitants of nine settlements north of Karagha). Passing over the fact that several settlements and entire groups of Koryak are not included in the branches of the Koryak enumerated above, as we shall see in Chapter III, the very basis of this division is wrong.

Almost all the Koryak have preserved their native tongue. They learn a foreign language with difficulty; and in their intercourse with other tribes, it is not they who take up the new tongue, but the foreigner, who is usually forced to learn the Koryak language. Thus, the Kamchadal, Tungus, and Russians, when living with the Koryak, have to learn to speak in the Koryak language. Even the Christianized Maritime Koryak of the northern part of Kamchatka, with but few exceptions, have not learned to speak Russian; and none of the Reindeer Koryak know the Russian language.

Of the Maritime Koryak, only two hundred (or 2.6 per cent) regard the Russian language as their mother-tongue. These are the inhabitants of the Nayakhan settlement in the Gishiga district, and the Koryak of the Okhotsk district (see Chapter III). The latter are intermixed to such an extent with other tribes (Tungus, Yakut, and Russians) that they can hardly be considered as genuine Koryak.

An insignificant number of Reindeer Koryak, wandering with the Tungus

[1] Dittmar, Die Koriken, p. 47.

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177 went to Gishiginsk and complained to the authorities that they themselves, and the inhabitants of the neighboring village Levatı, had been robbed in the summer by American whalers. All the inhabitants of these two villages had departed in their skin boats to hunt seals. Only two Koryak had remained in Kamenskoye. While the villages were still deserted, two three-masters entered the bay and dropped anchor in the vicinity of Kamenskoye. Here three whales were killed. The men from the ships boarded their whale-boats and came ashore. The two Koryak mentioned above, seeing the approaching strangers, left the village and fled to a near-by rock. Watching the strangers from afar, they saw how they carried out of the houses, foxes, reindeer-hides, and fur garments. Then the sailors entered Levatı, where they proceeded in the same fashion. Further, it appears from the "case" that an account of the occurrence, written by the chief of the Gishiga district, was sent by the Governor to the Minister of the Interior, who passed it over to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to be presented for explanation to the United States of North America. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, however, declared that he could not adopt the course of action suggested, for the testimony of the two Koryak was insufficient to positively establish the nationality of the sailors. Thus the affair remained unexplained. As, however, whalers of no other nationality had until then visited Gishiga Bay, it seems plausible that the whalers in question were Americans.

101 THE NEIGHBORING PEOPLES. — The neighbors of the Koryak at the present time are the Chukchee in the north, the Kamchadal in the south, the Yukaghir in the west, and the Tungus in the southwest. On the middle course of the Penshina River we find, wandering with their herds, the remainder of the now almost extinct Chuvantzy people, who were related to the Yukaghir, but have now become assimilated with the Koryak. From the direction of the Kolyma River, single representatives of the Yakut people at times go to the Koryak territory as traders. The Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district, like the inhabitants of Yamsk and Tumanskoye, have to a certain degree mixed with the Yakut, who have been forced to migrate from the vicinity of Yakutsk to the shores of the Okhotsk Sea.

174 I have repeatedly mentioned the fact that the Kamchadal, Koryak, and
648 Chukchee are really branches of one and the same people, as testified to by the type of their languages, their religion and culture, except for the fact that the Kamchadal have no reindeer-herds. According to tradition, the early relations of the Koryak with the Chukchee were different from their relations with the Kamchadal. With the former the Koryak were constantly engaged in war, while their relations with the latter were of a more friendly character. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that the Reindeer Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak, whose territories were as loosely defined in olden times as they are now, came into constant collision regarding pas-

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THE KORYAKS

V. V. ANTROPOVA
(based on data by S. N. Stebnitskiy and N. B. Shnakenburg)

General Information

The Koryaks are the nearest southern neighbors of the Chukchi. The name "Koryaks," given this people in the second half of the 17th century, stems from the Koryak root kor—"reindeer." The basis for this name was probably the locative case of this root—korak, or "those who are around reindeer." In former times, Koryaks had no general name for themselves. The reindeer-breeding Koryaks called themselves Chavchyvav (Chavchyv); they were also known by this name among various groups of sedentary Koryaks. In ethnographic literature they are known as Chavchuvens. The coastal Koryaks called themselves Nymyl''u, the singular of which was Nymyl''yn. This was derived from the root nym, nymnym—"village," "place of residence"—and thus means "residents" or "villagers." This designation gave rise to the name "Nymylany," which is widely used in the Soviet press. However, this name is evidently not the real self-designation of the entire people.

Today, in connection with the process of consolidation of dispersed Koryak groups, the term "Koryak" is beginning to acquire general usage. It is already being accepted as the name and the self-designation of the entire people, but along with it the term "Nymylan" may also be encountered, as applied to the entire people, both orally and in the local press.

The Chukchi who live in the northern part of the Koryak National Okrug sometimes call the Koryaks Tann'o (sing. Tann'ytan). The same name is occassionally used by Koryaks for the Chukchi. At the time of the Chukchi-Koryak wars, the word "tann'ytan" meant "foreigner," "alien," "enemy." Today it has lost its original meaning and is used merely as the name of a people: in the Koryak language it describes the Chukchi, and in Chukchi, the Koryaks. The Itel'mens call the Koryaks Ta luan.

In the past, the Koryaks were subdivided into the following 9 territorial groups: 1) Chavchuvens—reindeer-breeders (constituting approximately one-half of the entire people), living throughout the entire okrug, but principally in the interior; 2) Kamentsy—a group that was different economically, ethnographically and linguistically; they inhabited the larger part of the coast of Penzhina Bay; 3) Parentsy, who lived along the Paren' River, in the village of Paren', on the east coast of Taygonos Peninsula; 4) Itkantsy, who also lived on the east coast of the same peninsula, in three villages known by

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the common name of Itkana (Upper, Middle and Lower); 5) Apukintsy, who lived at the mouth of the Apuka River and farther north, along the coast of the Bering Sea; 6) Kereks—a small coastal group, living northeast of the Apukintsy along the coast of the Bering Sea, from Natal'ya Bay in the southwest to Cape Navarin in the northeast; 7) Alyutortsy—the second largest group, inhabiting the large area of the Kamchatka Isthmus, from the village of Tymlaty in the south to the village of Olyutorka (Bering Sea coast) and Rekinniki and Podkagernoye (the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk); 8) Karagintsy—a group close in language to the Alyutortsy, living from the village of Tymlaty in the north to Uka in the south (on the east coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula); 9) Palantsy—distributed in 5 villages along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, from the village of Lesnaya in the north to that of Vayampolka in the south.

The census of 1926-1927 set the number of Koryaks at 7434 persons, of whom some 55% were nomads and some 45% settled.

At present almost all the Koryaks live within the bounds of the Koryak National Okrug of the Kamchatskaya Oblast. Only an insignificant number of Koryaks live outside the okrug—in the Chukchi National Okrug (the Kereks), and in the Bol'sheretskiy and Petropavlovskiy Rayons of the Kamchatskaya Oblast. The Koryak (National) Okrug is divided into 4 rayons: Penzhinskiy, with its center in the village of Kamenskoye (Vaykynan); Olyutorskiy, with its center at the village of Tilichiki (Tylliran); Tigil'skiy, its center at the village of Tigil' (Vuyvyn); and Karaginskiy, its center at the village of Ossora. The center of the okrug is the village of Palana in the Tigil'skiy Rayon.

The Koryak National Okrug of the Kamchatskaya Oblast lies between 56°-65°N and 158°-174°E. The unfavorable average temperatures and the wide expanses of tundra and forest-tundra, despite the relatively southerly position of the okrug, lend a harsh quality to its environment. Nevertheless, the natural conditions of the territory, which extends almost from the Arctic Circle in the north to the latitude of Moscow in the south, are not homogeneous. Their diversity is intensified by the complex mountain relief of the area. The extreme northwestern corner of the okrug—the Upper Omolon Basin—is the highest spot, and most continental in climate. This area belongs to the forest zone, although coniferous forests occupy relatively small areas, while the predominant terrain consists of lichen-grown and other tundras, with scrub thickets in the mountains and river valleys. There are also grassy swamps and meadowlands.

The middle part of the Penzhina River Basin and adjacent areas on the Kamchatka Isthmus are characterized by a predominance of hills and low plains. The continental character of the climate lessens as one approaches the Sea of Okhotsk. Despite its more southerly position, this entire territory belongs to the forest-tundra zone. It has no coniferous forests, but abounds in scrub thickets, mountainside tundras and rocky areas in the mountains. There are even more mountain tundras in the east of the okrug—among the Koryak uplands and in the northeastern part of the Kamchatka Isthmus.

The rest of the territory of the okrug embraces the swampy unforested coastal lowlands of the northwestern part of the Kamchatka Peninsula and the western slope of the middle part of the Middle Kamchatka Range. Stone-birch groves, thickets of cedar and alder, and dry moss and other tundras extend over the mountainsides and mountaintops; in the river valleys in the mountains and foothills, vegetation consists of tall deciduous forests (poplar, alder, willow, Korean cedar, and, farther south, birch) and meadows. In this part of the okrug, which lies in the temperate zone, the climate is moist and

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relatively mild. However, it is swept by cold sea winds; in winter, there are severe snowstorms and a great deal of snow. 13

The animal world is represented by forest fauna (fox, squirrel, ermine, brown bear, chipmunk, black grouse, wood-grouse, magpies, nutcrackers, crows, etc.), tundra fauna (polar fox in the north, polar bear, encountered in the east, reindeer, polar partridge) and mountain fauna (mountain sheep†, as well as some living fossils, such as yevrazhta hamster and Siberian marmot. One should also mention the variety of sea birds—eider, gulls, etc., and vast numbers of migratory birds which come in spring, including geese, ducks, snipe, swans, etc. The rivers, lakes and sea waters abound in fish. Most important for fishing are salmon species (Siberian humpback, silver chinook, etc.), herring, yuk (Mallotus villosus socialis), cod, etc. The Sea of Okhotsk and Bering Sea abound in sea animals (whale, killer whale, white whale, and several species of seal). 136

The Koryak language belongs, together with Chukchi and Itel'men, to the same group of northeastern paleo-Asiatic languages. It is close to Chukchi in vocabulary and morphology. The languages of the Chukchi and Koryaks are so similar that they understand each other. 197

The Koryak subgroups enumerated above speak 9 dialects. The main distinctions among the dialects are phonetic. They differ to a considerably smaller degree morphologically, and even less, in vocabulary. By their principal phonetic and morphological characteristics, the dialects fall into two groups—southern and northern. The dialects of the Koryak language probably stem from the languages of the Koryak tribes into which the Koryaks were divided in the past.

The problem of Koryak origin has not been studied sufficiently. The few archaeological investigations carried out in the northwestern part of Kamchatka and along the Okhotsk coast have uncovered remains of old dugouts, stone and bone implements, and pottery. These findings may evidently be attributed to the ancestors of the modern Koryaks. The Evens of the Okhotsk Sea coast attribute the dugouts to Koryaks and point to the clay utensils as a characteristic feature of the life of the old inhabitants. 172

In the 17th-19th centuries, the villages of the coastal Koryaks extended considerably farther than they do today. Koryak villages on the Okhotsk Sea coast reached to Tauy Gulf. On the coast of the Bering Sea, their villages were encountered in the 17th-18th centuries, almost up to the mouth of the Anadyr'. The expansion of the Evens on the Okhotsk Sea coast, which was especially intensive in the 18th century, narrowed the territory of the sedentary Koryaks. While the coastal Koryaks may be seen as the direct heirs of the most ancient neolithic culture of northern Kamchatka and the Okhotsk Sea coast, the problem of the origin of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks—the Chavchuvens—is unclear. Some investigators consider them as the descendants of coastal Koryaks, who developed reindeer-breeding under the influence of their neighbors, the Evens. The question of the dates and manner of the spread of reindeer-breeding among the Koryaks requires further study. 175 101 174 101

The oral folklore of the peoples of the Far Northeast attests to the close relations between Koryaks and their neighbors—the Chukchi, Evens, Yukagirs and Itel'mens. These relations were expressed, on the one hand, in intertribal barter, and on the other, in armed conflicts. Numerous Koryak and Chukchi legends relate that the northern neighbors of the Koryaks—the Chukchi—attacked them, drove off their reindeer, and carried off men and women as captives. Koryak folklore also tells of hostile clashes between coastal and reindeer-breeding Koryaks, which occurred before the coming of the Russians. 173 648

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--290 [4] N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
~~116, 101,~~ 144, 171, 342

"Altogether, the people of this village [Karaga--Analyst] were rather puzzling, and seem to present some of the characteristics in a mixed degree of Chukchis, Koriaks, and Kamchadales, the three little-known Mongolian races which alone are said to inhabit these regions. Their dwellings, however, were sufficiently Kamchadale in character to stamp them as members of that race. Indeed, it seems to be mainly by their habitations and in their language that these tribes are distinguishable inter se, their features and clothing being, to judge of the various accounts which have been given of them, not very distinct. Steller tells us that the Kamchadales are, in general, an undersized people, but some of these natives were tall and of very fair proportions. This, and the fact that some of the men were bearded, may show a mixture of blood in their veins, possibly traceable to the presence of the Russians for over a century in Kamchatka."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--291 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak

116, 101, 171, 291

"In dress also the inhabitants of Karaga village seem to show a mixture of blood and habits, for, if we are to believe Langsdorf ('Voyages,' part ii. p. 319, 1814), the hooded robe without an opening at the bosom, and with the ornamented breast-piece hanging down from the neck, is a characteristic of the Koriak, and not of the Kamchadale tribe."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--295 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116, 101, 166, 231

"These people [the natives of Karaginski Island--Analyst] are said to have followed their reindeer over from the mainland during a winter, in which the straits were frozen over, and to have been unable to return whence they came, there having been, since they crossed, no frost severe enough to enable them to travel on the ice. Whether this story is true or not, we are unable to say, but it was told to us in Petropavlowsk. The people themselves seemed to us to be very different from those whom we saw at Karaga. They told us that their reindeer were in the hills at a distance of one or two days' journey from the village; besides reindeer, they possessed the usual type of sledge-dogs, but we saw no trace of any other domestic animals."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--295-296 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116, 101, 142, 342, 562

"Their features [those of the natives of Karaginski Island--Analyst] seem to resemble very closely those of the Chukchis of Indian Point, of whom we possess a photograph, and their stature was certainly far superior to that ordinarily ascribed to the Kamchadales. On the other hand, their habitations were distinctly Kamchadale, and bore no resemblance either to those of the tent-dwelling Chukchi or to the [296] conical skin-covered huts of the Koriaks as described by Langsdorf, yet their dress was that which is said to be distinctive of the latter people. If the story of their having crossed over to the island from the mainland be true, they may be a party of Chukchis, or Koriaks, who, having wandered down from the bare northern tundra to a region where trees exist and wood is procurable, have adopted the Kamchadale form of dwelling. The absence of women from the main village would support this supposition, for if we remember rightly, the Koriaks are said to keep their women apart."

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

CHAP. XX.

THIS chapter in the original contains an account of three different dialects of the *Kamtschadales*; which, as they are very unintelligible to an *English* reader, we thought proper to omit.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the NATION *of the* KOREKI.

AS the *Koreki* and *Kuriles* agree in most of their customs and habits with the *Kamtschadales*, we shall only take notice of those things wherein they differ from them or from one another. The *Koreki*, as is above related, are divided into the rein-deer or wandering *Koreki*; and those that are fixed in one place who live in huts in the earth like the *Kamtschadales*, and in every other respect indeed resemble them; so that whatever remarks we make are to be understood of the wandering *Koreki*, unless otherwise expressed.

The fixed *Koreki* live along the coast of the Eastern Ocean, from the river *Ukoi* as far as the *Anadir*, and along the coast of the sea of *Penschina* round the *Penschina* bay to the ridge *Nuktchatmnin*, out of which the river *Nuktchan* rises. From these rivers they take different appellations, by which they are distinguished one from another. The wandering *Koreki* sojourn with their herds of deer, and extend from

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

from the Eaſtern Ocean weſt to the head of the rivers *Penſchina* and *Omolona*, north to the *Anadir*, and ſouth to the rivers *Leſnaya* and *Karaga*. Sometimes they come even over theſe bounds, approaching very near to *Kamtſchatka*; but this indeed happens very ſeldom, and only when they are afraid of the *Tchukotſkoi*, who are their moſt dangerous neighbours. The people that they border upon are the *Kamtſchadales*, the *Tchukotſkoi*, *Ukageri*, and the *Tunguſi* or *Lamuti*.

The *Tcukotſkoi* ſhould be accounted a race of the *Koreki*, which in truth they are; if ſo, then it may be ſaid that the country of the *Koreki* is of far greater extent, for the *Tchukotſkoi* poſſeſs northward from the river *Anadir* as far as the *Tchukotſkoi* promontory. Indeed, thoſe *Tchukotſkoi* that live north of the river *Anadir* are not ſubject to the empire of *Ruſſia*, but frequently make incurſions upon thoſe that are, both *Koreki* and *Tchukotſkoi*, killing and making them priſoners, and driving off their herds of deer. In the ſummer time they fiſh not only in the ſeas near the mouth of the *Anadir*, but even come up the river a great way, when thoſe people who are ſubjects to *Ruſſia* frequently fall into their hands.

The *Koreki* differ not only in their manners from one another, but alſo in the form of their bodies. The wandering *Koreki*, as far as I could obſerve, are of ſmall ſtature, and very lean; they have ſmall heads, and black hair, which they ſhave every day; their face is oval, their eyes ſmall, eyebrows hanging, noſe ſhort, mouth large, and their beard black and pointed, which they frequently pluck. The fixed *Koreki*, though not of a very large ſtature, are however taller than the former, and thicker and ſtronger made; eſpecially thoſe that live towards the north, who reſemble a good deal the *Kamtſchadales* and *Tchukotſkoi*.

There is beſides a very great difference in their cuſtoms and habits. The wandering *Koreki* are extremely jealous, and ſometimes kill their wives upon ſuſpicion only; but when any

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU AB6
TUNGUS RU5
KORYAKS R44

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Sakhalin which was entrusted, among other things, with 'raising the cultural and living standard of its native population', the Ainu in particular.[48]

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Three years after the establishment of Soviet sovereignty over Karafuto Russian propaganda claimed that 'a revival of the ancient, original culture of the Ainu people' was noticeable, and that an 'Ainu national literary language' was in the process of being created.[49]

THE 'NATIONAL AREAS' OF THE EVENI AND KORYAKS

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In 1930 three 'National Areas' were founded in the Far Eastern Territory, one for the Eveni (Lamuts), one for the Koryaks, and one for the Chukchi. The last two are still in existence, but the 'National Area' of the Eveni – Okhotsko-Evensky National Area was the official name – was disbanded after four years. It is doubtful whether the Eveni National Area, which covered 400,000 square miles, ever existed except on paper. The Eveni as a nomad people were not prepared to accept the notion of a territory with stable frontiers and a permanently fixed cultural and political centre. The attempt to erect such a centre, first in Okhotsk, later in Nogayevo, failed.[50] The National Area of the Eveni was formally abolished as a result of the progress which Russian colonization by convicts had made around the Okhotsk Sea in the early 'thirties'. By 1934 the proportion of natives in the population of the National Area had dropped to 40 per cent as against 80 per cent shortly before its foundation.

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The Koryak National Area has been able to survive because the Soviet authorities have not yet succeeded in fully exploiting its riches, and have not, up to now, swamped the area with convicts and other settlers. The Koryak National Area covers the northern part of the Kamchatka peninsula, and the adjacent part of the Asiatic mainland. It is 125,000 square miles in area, and had 11,400 inhabitants in 1926. Out of this total, 61 per cent were then Koryaks, 8·9 per cent Chukchi, 7·1 per cent Kamchadals, and 5·5 per cent Eveni. The Russians accounted for 14·3 per cent.

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The leading Soviet expert on the arctic and sub-arctic regions of the Soviet Far East, M. A. Sergeev, considers that the Koryak National Area is, politically and economically, one of the most important parts of North East Asia, in view of its close proximity to Japan and the U.S.A. Sergeev, who wrote the only available monograph on the Koryak National Area, pointed out that the Area had a considerable part to play in Russian foreign trade, and that it could develop into a territory earning for the whole Soviet Union an appreciable amount of foreign currency.[51] Among the economic assets of the National Area Sergeev lists its riches in fish, reindeer and fur animals, as well as gold and oil. All these items should be used for export, whereas the chief importance

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4. (cont.)
knew nothing of the Kamchadal. One can explain such a misunderstanding of Steller's remarks as happened to Gerland in part by Steller's antiquated style and in part by the frequently (and even at the place concerned, p. 8) exceeding faulty and incorrect punctuation in this publication of his work. As I have already pointed out at another place (Reis. u. Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. II, p. 762, note 3), Pallas said of it that it "was printed from a rough draft and in the hands of the publisher (J.B.S.) became loaded with the most inexcusable copying and printing errors revealing a great ignorance (Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. II, p. 255). One will be convinced of the accuracy of this opinion by Pallas on every page while reading Steller's work. For this reason I believe that the apparent difference in these two Koryak terms for the Kamchadal can be traced to merely a printing error. Steller also says that the sedentary Koryak along the Sea of Okhotsk are called "Nümala akalila," i.e., sitting, resting, by their countrymen who roam with reindeer. Could it be, however, that this "Nümala," like "Namalau," is also a reference to their subterranean dwellings?

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Some, the sedentary ones, of the Koryak, also a Paleo-Asiatic people, retained the earth yurt to this day, insofar as they have not already adopted Russian customs and hence also Russian dwellings, for example, according to Ditmar (5), /335/in particular

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5. "Ueber die Koräken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen /On the Koryak and the Chukchee Very Closely Related to Them/" (Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. XIII, pp. 104, 107, 109; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 8, 12, 16).

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retained a seminomadic life and accordingly do not build permanent dwellings or earth yurts, but live in their transportable huts as before (4). The former seems to me to be a traditional, more

4. Wrangell (Putesh., etc., Part 2, p. 136). Nordenskjöld (Die Umsegel. Asiens und Europas auf der Vega /The Circumnavigation of Asia and Europe on the Vega/, German transl., Leipzig, 1882, Vol. II, p. 82). In the latter work one also finds an illustration of a tent of the coastal or sedentary Chukchee (Vol. I, p. 394), from a photograph by L. Palander). There is also frequent mention in it of the number and nature of the various tents in the villages visited by the members of the Vega Expedition during their winter travels, as well as of the change of dwelling of the coastal Chukchee, sometimes taking place in winter (for instance, Vol. I, p. 443, and elsewhere). Likewise in Nordqvist (see Petermann's Geogr. Mitthell., 1881, p. 65).

or less original /336/ way of life, the latter only a later, sometimes merely temporary, change backward. In my opinion, therefore, one should conceive of the change in the way of life of these peoples in reverse fashion: like the sedentary Koryak of today, the ancestors of the now nomadic Koryak and likewise the Chukchee, tribally related to them and differing from them only dialectally (1), formerly had permanent dwelling sites, and to

1. Steller (op. cit., p. 8, note a) and Krascheninnikof (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 147) pointed out the close relationship between the two peoples, which was later confirmed several times, for instance, by Svarychkof (Putesh. kap. Billingsa chrez" Chukotskuyu zemliu, izvl. iz" rasm. shtab. Kapitan"

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1. (cont.)
Billings' Journey across Chukchee Land, Taken from Various Magazines/, St. Petersburg, 1811, p. 67, footnote), Lütke /Litke/ (Voyage autour du monde, sur la corv. Le Seniavine, dans les ann. 1826-1829 /Voyage around the World on the Corvette "Le Seniavine" in 1826-1829/," Partie hist. /Historical Section/," Vol. II, Paris, 1835, p. 262; the same in Erman's Archiv für wiss. Kunde von Russland, Vol. III, 1843, p. 449), and others.

sure just such earth-yurts, until they became acquainted with and adopted from their neighbors, presumably the Tungus pressing in upon them, the domesticated reindeer, a domestic animal still foreign to the Paleo-Asiatic peoples; as soon as this happened, they had to give up their sedentary way of life and take up a nomadic life, along with which, of course, they were forced to exchange their fixed earth-yurt for a transportable tent. And it is completely in harmony with this when Wrangell (2), in characterizing

2. Op. cit., p. 332.

the Chukchee, says that in spite of their nomadic life, they have many more sedentary traits in their whole system than any other nomadic people: only an insufficiency of pasturage and a lack of fodder for their reindeer can force them to leave a place; their inclination toward a sedentary way of life is further shown by the fact that they lay in supplies and are thrifty, indeed even niggardly -- clearly traits which the nomadic peoples lack entirely; indeed, even their clothing, the wide, clumsy fur-shirt and the long fur trousers, are more suitable for a sedentary way of life (3).

3. Wrangell particularly emphasizes these pecularities of the Chukchee in contrast to the Tungus, these special nomads concerning whom